

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-30

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FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7701

AMEMBASSY ANKARA NIACT IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ATHENS NIACT IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON NIACT IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA NIACT IMMEDIATE

USMISSION NATO NIACT IMMEDIATE

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 5161

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CY

SUBJ: CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS--TALK WITH TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTER

SUMMARY: IN AN HOUR AND A HALF MEETING WITH GUNES THIS MORNING I EXPLORED THOROUGHLY BOTH THE NECESSITY AND THE MEANS OF FINDING A FORMULA FOR ON-GOING TALKS BY CLERIDES AND DENKTASH, WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF GREECE AND TURKEY AND PERHAPS UK IN SOME CAPACITY, AND REPORTING BACK TO THE GUARANTORS WITH A FIXED, SHORT DEADLINE. FOR THE FIRST TIME GUNES ENTERED INTO A DIALOGUE ON WHAT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE ALONG THESE LINES PROVIDED HE IS GIVEN SOME FLEXIBILITY BY TURKISH CABINET WHICH PRESENTLY MEETING IN ANKARA. HE WAS AWARE OF THE EXCHANGE OF TELEPHONE CALLS AND MESSAGES BETWEEN YOU AND ECEVIT.

DURING OUR DISCUSSING GUNES WAS LED TO PUT FORWARD SOME IDEAS ON THE SORT FORMULA WHICH WOULD MAKE IT CLEAR THERE IS TO BE NO RETURN TO THE PREVIOUS PATTERN OF INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS, THAT THE FUNDA-

MENTAL SITUATION ON ISLAND HAS CHANGED, AND YET NOT BE SO PRECISE CONCERNING THE TURKISH DESIRE FOR ONE ZONE OR THE GREEK-GREEK CYPRIOT DESIRE FOR OTHER ARRANGEMENTS THAT THE FORMULA WOULD BE REJECTED BY ONE SIDE OR OTHER. HOWEVER, HE ADDED THAT MORE

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IMPORTANT THAN THE QUESTION OF THE WORDING OF A COMPROMISE FORMULA

IS A BASIC UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT SORT OF SOLUTION WE ARE REALLY TALKING ABOUT. I EXPLAINED TO GUNES HOW HELPFUL WE HAD BEEN AND WISH TO CONTINUE TO BE TO TURKEY, AND URGED HIM TO LOOK HARD FOR AN ACCEPTABLE COMPROMISE. END SUMMARY.

1. GUNES ASKED LAST NIGHT TO SEE ME EARLY AUGUST 11. HE OPENED THE MEETING BY REFERRING TO THE EXCHANGE OF TELEPHONE CALLS AND MESSAGES BETWEEN ANKARA AND WASHINGTON BUT DID NOT GO INTO ANY DETAIL. HE THEN SAID THAT THE POLITICAL CLIMATE INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE CONFERENCE SEEMS TO BE DETERIORATING, REFERRING TO THE ANNOUNCED UK MOVE NOT TO RECALL ITS F-4'S, TO TURKISH POPULAR REACTION THERETO, TO STATEMENTS IN TALKS HERE BY UK AND GREECE AND CLERIDES INDICATING THAT GREECE AND UK WANT TO WASH THEIR HANDS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUE, AND TO THE FAILURE OF GREECE, UNFICYP AND THE GREEK CYPRIOTS TO LIBERATE THE TURKISH ENCLAVES AS SPECIFIED IN PARA 3 OF THE JULY 30 GENEVA DECLARATION. HE SAID THAT EVERYONE SEEMS TO BE PREOCCUPIED WITH THE REMOVAL OF TURKISH TROOPS FROM THE ISLAND RATHER THAN OTHER

ISSUES AND THIS IS THE "WORST POSSIBLE APPROACH" TO RESOLVING THE PROBLEM. THE TURKISH TROOPS HAD THE CAPABILITY TO TAKE VERY LARGE PORTIONS OF CYPRUS BUT THE ORDER HAD BEEN GIVEN TO STOP. THIS ORDER WAS NOT GIVEN BECAUSE OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL RES. BUT BECAUSE OF TURKEY'S DESIRE TO MAINTAIN CLOSE RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES, WHICH HAD ASKED THAT IT TRY AND FIND A DIPLOMATIC SOLUTION, HAVING ESTABLISHED ITS PRESENCE ON THE ISLAND, AND TO KEEP GOOD RELATIONS WITH ITS OTHER ALLIES, ESPECIALLY GREECE. THERE HAD BEEN A LITTLE EXPANSION AFTER THE CEASEFIRE WAS ACCEPTED BUT THIS HAD BEEN DONE EITHER IN ORDER TO PROTECT TURKISH TROOPS IN POSITIONS ALREADY HELD OR ON LOCAL INITIATIVE NOT AUTHORIZED BY ANKARA. THE UK SEEMED TO THINK THAT TURKEY HAD STOPPED BECAUSE IT WAS AFRAID OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL BUT THIS IS NOT SO. NOR WOULD TURKEY BE STOPPED BY THE PRESENCE OF BRITISH F-4'S ON THE ISLAND. TURKEY IS SEEKING A PEACEFUL SOLUTION BECAUSE IT WANTS TO AVOID A DETERIORATION IN RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES AND ITS OTHER CLOSE ALLIES.

2. GUNES CONTINUED THAT THERE IS AN URGENT NEED TO DECIDE ON A FORMULA FOR A FUNDAMENTAL SOLUTION BUT THAT NO ONE SEEMED TO BE  
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PAYING ATTENTION. SECRETARY KISSINGER HAD SENT A MESSAGE TO HIS PRIME MINISTER SUGGESTING THAT SOLUTION COULD BE FOUND BUT THAT IT WOULD TAKE A LITTLE TIME. AS ECEVIT HAS TOLD AMBASSADOR MACOMBER, TIME IS LIMITED. IT IS NOT UP TO GUNES TO SAY WHETHER IT SHOULD BE THREE WEEKS OR ONE OR FOUR. THIS IS A GOVERNMENTAL DECISION AND THE TURKISH CABINET IS PRESENTLY MEETING TO DECIDE UPON SUCH BASIC MATTERS. GUNES SAID HE THEREFORE REQUESTED CALLAGHAN TO DELAY THE MEETING OF FOREIGN MINISTER UNTIL 1600 SO

HE WOULD HAVE NEW INSTRUCTIONS.

3. I TOLD GUNES THAT I AGREED WITH HIM THAT THERE HAS BEEN TOO MUCH ATTENTION FOCUSED ON THE FACT OF THE TURKISH MILITARY PRESENCE ON CYPRUS AND NOT ENOUGH ON HOW TO DEAL SERIOUSLY WITH THE POLITICAL ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM AND FIND A SOLUTION FOR THEM. THE DYNAMICS OF THE SITUATION HAVE EVOLVED IN SUCH A WAY AS TO CAUSE THE INITIAL CONCERN TO BE DIRECTED AT THE TURKISH ACTION AND THE CEASE-FIRE ASPECTS. THIS HAD BEEN DIFFICULT TO WORK OUT AND IN THE PROCESS NOT ENOUGH ATTENTION HAD BEEN GIVEN TO OTHER MATTERS. FOR EXAMPLE, I REMINDED GUNES THAT THE USG, PARTLY AS A RESULT OF WHAT I HAD SEEN ON CYPRUS, HAD TAKEN A STRONG POSITION IN URGING ALL CONCERNED THAT MORE ATTENTION BE GIVEN TO FREEING THE TURKISH ENCLAVES AS CALLED FOR IN PARA 3 OF THE GENEVA JULY 30 DECLARATION. THE GREEK GOVT, WHATEVER MR. MAVROS MIGHT HAVE SAID IN THE TALKS, IS KEENLY AWARE OF ITS RESPONSIBILITIES IN THIS REGARD AND PM KARAMANLIS TOLD ME IN ATHENS THAT HE HAD SENT A REGULAR GENERAL OFFICER FROM THE GREEK ARMY TO TAKE THE CYPRIOT NATIONAL GUARD UNDER CONTROL AND DISARM THE IRREGULARS SUCH AS EOKA-B. KARAMANLIS WAS NOT TRYING TO DUCK HIS RESPONSIBILITIES, NOR WAS CLERIDES, IN MY JUDGMENT, BUT IT TAKES TIME TO REDRESS SUCH A DIFFICULT SITUATION AS THAT WHICH EXISTS ON THE GROUND IN CYPRUS. TURKEY SHOULD BE A BIT MORE AWARE OF THE POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF CLERIDES AND THE NEW GREEK GOVERNMENT, SINCE BOTH OFFER THE BEST PROSPECTS FOR GOOD FUTURE RELATIONS WITH TURKEY AND THE SORT OF EQUITABLE SETTLEMENT OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM WHICH TURKEY WANTS. I SAID THAT IT SEEMED TO ME THAT TURKEY SHOULD CONSIDER SOME SORT OF A FORMULA FOR THE ONGOING TALKS WHICH SOMEHOW BRIDGE THE GAP BETWEEN THE TURKISH POSITION THAT THERE SHOULD BE 2 AUTONOMOUS ZONES UNDER A SINGLE FEDERAL STATE OR WHATEVER IT WAS TO BE CALLED AND THE CLERIDES POSITION THAT IF HE SAID THIS HE WOULD HAVE TO RESIGN AT ONCE. CLERIDES TOLD ME HE THOUGHT HE COULD TALK  
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ABOUT GREEK AND TURKISH CYPRIOT AUTHORITIES IN THE GEOGRAPHIC AREAS THEY CONTROL AND THAT HE HAS GIVEN UP THE IDEA OF THE UNITARY STATE. THESE ARE IMPORTANT POINTS, COMPARED TO PAST GREEK CYPRIOT POSITIONS, AND THERE SHOULD BE A WAY TO FIND A BRIDGE BETWEEN THEM, NOT TO SOLVE THE BASIC PROBLEMS IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS BUT IN ORDER TO GET TALKS GOING ON THE BASIS OF A FORMULA ACCEPTABLE TO ALL CONCERNED. THERE MIGHT BE A DEADLINE SET FOR THE RESULTS OF THESE TALKS TO BE REPORTED BACK TO THE THREE GUARANTORS.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7702

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4. GUNES SAID THAT WHAT I HAD INDICATED AS TO THE NEW POSITION OF CLERIDES WOULD NOT HAVE MUCH IMPACT IN TURKEY WHERE EVERYONE FULLY AWARE OF THE NUANCES OF THE PAST INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS. SINCE THE IDEA OF A UNITARY STATE HAD NOT BEEN ACCEPTED, EVEN BY THE EASTERN BLOC AND CHINA, IT HAD NOT REAL STATUS AND SO ITS ABANDONMENT WOULD NOT BE SEEN AS A TURKISH GAIN. I STRONGLY DISAGREED, I TOLD HIM, IN LIGHT OF THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN GREECE AND ON CYPRUS. THAT IS THE REAL WORLD, NOT THE USSR OR OTHER OUTSIDERS, AND THAT IS WHAT TURKEY SHOULD TAKE INTO ACCOUNT. CLERIDES HAS AN EXTREMELY SERIOUS PROBLEM AT HOME WITH MARARISO AND HE WILL CERTAINLY BE ATTACKED STRONGLY BY THE ARCHBISHOP FOR GIVING UP THE LATTER'S PRINCIPAL OF THE UNITARY STATE.

5. GUNES THEN SAID THAT TURKISH OPINION HAS CHANGED DRASTICALLY AND IT IS ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE FOR ANY TURKISH GOVT TO GO TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND SAY THAT WHILE ITS ACTIONS ON CYPRUS HAVE NOT OBTAINED ENOUGH, IT WILL SETTLE FOR WHAT IT CAN GET BECAUSE "EVERYONEELSE SAID TO ACCEPT AUTONOMY FOR WHAT WE PRESENTLY HOLD, AND WE AGREED."

6. GUNES SAID THAT THE IDEA OF TURKEY ACCEPTING SEVERAL ZONES

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INSTEAD OF ONLY ONE, IS A MATTER FOR THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT TO DECIDE. IF, FOR EXAMPLE, TURKEY SAID DURING ONGOING TALKS THAT IT WOULD ACCEPT CLERIDES CANTONAL IDEA ON CONDITION THAT EACH CANTON HAVE ACCESS TO THE SEA BY A PORT WHICH IT CONTROLS, THAT EACH CANTON BE RATHER LARGE AND THAT EACH BE PROTECTED BY A CONTINGENT OF THE TURKISH ARMY, THEN ATHENS AND CLERIDES WOULD REJECT THE CANTONAL IDEA. THEN EVERYONE WOULD BE BACK IN THE SAME POSITION.

7. GUNES SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THE NEED TO RECOGNIZE POLITICAL REALITIES AND NOT HUMILIATE KARAMANLIS OR CLERIDES. BUT HE COULD NOT LEAVE DISCUSSION TO A GROUP OF EXPERTS WITHOUT BEING ABLE TO SAY IT IS NO LONGER A CASE OF INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS BUT SOMETHING ENTIRELY DIFFERENT. HE SAID THAT MAYBE WE CAN LEAVE IN SUSPENSE THE IDEA OF "WHETHER THERE WILL BE ONE, TWO OR THREE TURKISH ZONES" BUT WE NEED TO SPELL OUT THE OTHER PRINCIPLES, PERHAPS IN A SUPPLE FORMULA ALLOWING THE OTHERS TO SAY EVERYTHING HAS NOT BEEN DECIDED BUT PRECISE ENOUGH TO SAY THERE WILL BE TURKISH REGIMES. BUT IF MAVROS AND CLERIDES CONTINUE TO SAY THE GUARANTORS HAVE NO RESPONSIBILITY CONCERNING THE CONSTITUTION, TURKEY WILL END THE GUARANTOR TALKS.

8. I TOLD GUNES THAT I THOUGHT HE WAS ON THE RIGHT TRACK, THAT MORE ATTENTION NEEDED TO BE GIVEN IN THE TALKS TO DEVELOPING A FORMULA WHICH COULD COMMAND AGREEMENT. PERHAPS THE TWO FRIENDLY LAWYERS, CLERIDES AND DENKTASH, COULD AGREE ON ONE IN THEIR TALKS. PERHAPS CALLAGHAN COULD FIND ONE. I WAS CERTAIN THAT ONE COULD BE FOUND WITH ENOUGH GOOD WILL.

9. GUNES SAID THAT NO MATTER WHAT FORMULA WAS ADOPTED IT WOULD BE ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL TO AGREE ON WHAT LIES BEHIND IT, ON WHAT WE ARE REALLY TALKING ABOUT WHAT THE ULTIMATE SOLUTION WILL BE. DALE

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